

# PEACE NEWS

No. 420 June 30, 1944 2d.

## ABOVE THE BATTLE . . .

Before Cherbourg, Sunday.

WHAT is probably the strangest episode in this battle for Cherbourg occurred here this morning. Just as the final attack was about to begin a motor-cycle driven by a German and with a US airman in the sidecar came through the battle lines, a white flag waving over it in the breeze.

Our advance patrols stopped it. They saw the airman was badly wounded in the left arm.

"I am a prisoner of war of the Germans," he told them. "This officer is a German Army doctor. I have come from the military hospital in Cherbourg under a safe conduct with the doctor to ask for blood plasma and more drugs to treat the wounded there."

They were taken to a command post and the story was told again. A few minutes later they were being supplied with the necessary drugs by US Army doctors.

Then they went back, the doctor and the wounded airman, back through the lines into the besieged city of Cherbourg.

BUP message published in the Press on Monday.

# JUST PEACE TERMS NOW MIGHT SHORTEN WAR BY MONTHS

WHAT the authorities expected I do not know; but the first phase of the invasion of Europe appears to have gone much "better"—forgive the word—than most ordinary people expected. How utterly pitiful it is, then, that nothing but unconditional surrender is offered to the enemy.

This blank negation seems so senseless and inhuman at a moment when the announcement of terms might shorten the war by months, that it is hard to believe that it is now a deliberate policy decision. One would think that both Roosevelt and Churchill would seize any opportunity of saving France from piecemeal devastation.

Possibly, they are counting on a swift campaign in France—a Blitzkrieg, in reverse. But the chances even of that would be greatly increased by the announcement of terms. So that one is driven to the conclusion that the cause of the apparent senselessness is that the Big Three are quite unable to agree on any terms to offer Germany. I am not surprised, if the reports of Russia's terms to Finland are true.

### Effect on Germany

THE Economist (Jun. 25), discussing this subject, makes an important distinction. It points out what seems to be the fact that Germany is so fully totalitarian that

there are no groups—not even the Army—that could take the initiative in peace-talks.

Definite terms might prove a catalyst capable of organizing the split and atomized elements of responsible German society. Obviously 'unconditional surrender' is not such a catalyst . . . Whatever its original meaning, it is being taken today to mean not terms unilaterally imposed, but an absence of terms."

Pacifists are, in principle, opposed to the unilateral stipulation of terms. But, since the free negotiation of terms is out of the question, it is desirable that they should recognize how far superior the unilateral stipulation of substantially just terms would be to the present refusal to state any terms at all. Against the horror of the unknown Germans must be expected to fight to the last, because there is really no hope for them. But not Germany will be the chief sufferer now, but France.

### Cherbourg example

HOW strange is the contrast between this blankness and the terms on which the defenders of Cherbourg were summoned to surrender! Here there was no suggestion of unconditional surrender.

Not merely were the German soldiers assured of humane treatment as prisoners; not merely told that they would be allowed to write home seven times a month, and cared for as well as they were cared for in the German army. But they were actually invited to preserve themselves from futile destruction in order to reconstruct Germany.

"Live to rebuild Germany!" If only the political authorities could speak to the German nation with the same accents as the military authorities speak to the German soldiers!

## Observer's Commentary

### The first step

THE above is the context in which to consider some remarks of Lord Halifax, speaking in America on Jun. 24. He said:

"We hear a great deal of talk of the re-education of the Nazis when this war has been won. That is likely to be a task more intractable than any other. But of one thing we may be sure: we shall make nothing of it unless, simultaneously, we re-educate ourselves. We can only hope to set and keep the world in order if we make our lives and that of our nations a pattern of that which we would fain make the world."

If we read "beforehand" in place of "simultaneously," that is true enough. But let us translate the abstract proposition into concrete terms. The first step, and much the most crucial, in the re-education of Nazi Germany will be the nature of the peace-settlement we impose upon her.

Had we not better begin immediately re-educating ourselves to seek not revenge, but justice? Our statesmen appear to be very far from regarding Germany as, by right, an equal number of a true society of nations. Yet that is, in practice, the necessary beginning of any attempt to make ourselves a pattern for the world.

### No "purge" now?

LET me hasten, in fairness, to record the report that the regional commissioner left behind by de Gaulle in Bayeux, M. Coulet, has proclaimed a policy of moderation towards local French officials who have served under Vichy.

"He has shaken hands with the sub-prefect of Bayeux, testifying that he has 'carried out his duties in a satisfactory manner within the limits permitted by brutal occupation and unwholesome authority.'" (Observer, Jun. 25.)

This is said to have aroused violent criticism among the Communists in Algiers. Moreover, the Communists are said to be demanding a *levée en masse* of the whole French resistance movement. The blessed word "mass" has, apparently, lost none of its fascination for Communists. There must be mass-rising even though it leads to mass-massacre.

Whether M. Coulet's statement betokens that Gaullism has abandoned the evil notion of a purge of the vast majority of French officials, who have served under Vichy simply because they stuck to their job; or whether (as is more probable) it means that M. Coulet has had to fall in with the wishes of the Allied Commanders—the change of attitude is to be welcomed. However, the sub-prefect now appears to have been dismissed.

### Finland's neighbours

THE details of the reports from Stockholm of the new terms which Russia is offering Finland are ominous. The Daily Telegraph (Jun. 23) and the Evening Standard (Jun. 22) give accounts that agree, except that the Standard adds:

"Finland to break off cultural and political attachments to Nordic Scandinavian States and to orientate itself politically henceforward to Soviet Russia."

If that is true it is monstrous. The Scandinavian countries—as I am never weary of repeating—represent the finest development of responsible democracy that has been achieved in the world. If Finland's natural mem-

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

### ELPHICK REFUSES AGAIN

GEORGE Elphick, the Lewes CO, declined to attend for fire-watching duties on Jun. 21 as required by the latest direction served on him, and thus became liable to prosecution for the ninth time.

A special meeting of the Lewes Borough Council is to be held this evening (Friday) to consider the position. There is no doubt (reports the Central Board for COs) that very widespread protests have been made to the Town Clerk, Mr. Herbert Morrison and others concerned in the case.

The Church Times and the Christian World both published last week leading articles favourable to George Elphick.

## Germany, Europe and future peace

### NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL DECLARATION POINTS THE WAY

especially to future generations of Germans, can only serve to create a new spirit of aggressive nationalism, to frustrate the building of a European commonwealth and to set the stage for a third world war. The world is entitled to guarantees against the recurrence of German aggression, but, if they are to be dependable, such guarantees must be found not in repression but in the achievement of a new Germany integrated into a new Europe and sharing obligations and benefits on equal terms with her neighbours.

#### The Political Aim

Under such a policy the military occupation of Germany would be regarded not as part of the structure of the peace but as the last military act of the war. Its purpose would be the maintenance of order and administration pending the recreation of free German institutions, and the provision of machinery and control for the services of relief and rehabilitation. The central political aim would be the encouragement of all those elements who have either actively resisted or reluctantly accepted the Nazi régime, and who can be relied upon to ensure the fullest contribution from Germany to a peaceful co-operation among the peoples.

The freedom of German-occupied countries must be restored, but the annexation of indisputably German territory or the attempt by the victors to enforce a change in the structure of Germany itself independently of any general European reorganization should be excluded. All territorial questions should be considered in relation to the primary aim of creating a more organic European system in which the significance of frontiers would largely disappear.

#### A Wider Economic Unity

In the economic field such a policy would recognize that the economic

future of Germany cannot be properly determined save in relation to the economic future of the whole European continent. Proposals for the economic crippling of Germany are in effect proposals for the general impoverishment of the European peoples. German industrial and scientific resources should be regarded not merely as a German but as a European and world asset and the future use and development of them should be considered as part of a European and world plan to maintain full employment and to improve standards of living. In particular the heavy industry of Germany should be utilised together with the heavy industry of the United States, Great Britain and the USSR, to equip the more backward countries.

It is in terms of the contribution in labour and materials, which Germans can make willingly to this general purpose—the restoration of devastated areas and to the general improvement of economic standards—that the problem of reparations should be considered. If it be argued that such a policy leaves Germany the potentiality for rearmament, the answer is that no better safeguard against rearmament and aggression can be found than the internal reconstruction of Germany within a more unified or federated Europe—that is, within a larger economic and political unit made workable by planning and organization on a truly democratic plane.

#### The Spiritual Factor

The reintegration of Germany into the community of peoples will require, however, the full play of spiritual and psychological forces. War alienates and divides; peace must create fellowship and understanding among peoples if it is to endure. The remaking of personal links with Germany will be doubly difficult because of the mental and physical isolation of Germany in the last decade, but by the same token it will be doubly necessary.

Confidence may find its best opportunity of growth in the tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction which

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

### Bombs into ploughshares

A SUBSCRIBER whose railings have been deported against her will sends us the compensation received that it may be used in furtherance of the cause of peace. Surely others amongst us have similar good ideas.

Headquarters Fund to Jun. 23: £154 14s. 1d.; last fortnight: £19.

Donations to the Fund, which should be marked "Headquarters Fund" will be gratefully received by me at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE  
Hon. Treasurer.

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

## THE PRICE OF PEACE

ON another page appears a letter by Corder Catchpool which takes the controversy concerning our remarks upon the opening of the Second Front on to the plane on which it really belongs.

Here is our reply.

My dear Corder Catchpool,

I, like you, am quite unable to pray for quick victory. It is my rational mind which decides that, of all the practical possibilities it can foresee, a quick victory now offers the best hope of a quick end to the war and a corresponding diminution of human suffering; and I feel in honour and honesty bound to declare my conclusion.

Nevertheless, I should, as I say, be quite unable to pray for it. The only brief end to the war I could pray for is some sort of immediate human reconciliation between the enemies. And I'm afraid I couldn't pray even for that. It's no use my saying to myself that "with God all things are possible." I, as a given individual with my own experience and my own psychology, am unable to pray on that basis: that is not the kind of God in whom I believe.

Indeed, I doubt whether I personally could pray "that a real peace may come and come quickly," not because I do not long for this (I do), but because I do not believe it possible without a mighty wave of spiritual illumination. And I can't pray even for that because to do so runs counter to what I know by experience and apprehend by imagination of the manner in which the divine purposes are worked out in the minds and lives of stubborn men. I do not believe in mighty waves of spiritual illumination. I believe in men and nations being brought to spiritual awareness by experience and above all by suffering. This is a belief in the nature of God to which the only truly conformable prayer is "Thy will be done!"

I do not in fact believe that real peace can come quickly: I do not believe that it ought to. There's the snag. Were I to pray for that, I should be praying for something which is alien to the teaching of history, read as a manifestation of the divine will, and to my own personal experience. I know something of what it costs in sacrifice and suffering for a wayward natural man to become submissive to the will of God: and I do not believe that that submission could have come without that suffering and that sacrifice. Shall it, can it, ought it to be otherwise with nations?

I hope I have made plain to you at least that nothing was further from my mind than the thought that pacifists—those of them who do pray—should pray for a quick Allied victory: and if I seem to have gone further than I should in considering the nature of prayer, I apologise. But it is important: terribly important.

Your letter seemed to indicate a path along which we might achieve a true reconciliation of the tension which exists between the outworn-religious and the superficial-political in our movement. The contradiction between them is, I believe, itself superficial. But at present we are still beset with unprofitable dogmatisms on the one side or the other. I try to steer clear of them by sticking—as far as I can—to the truth as I see it. But much more than that is required. And this I find it hard indeed to supply. Your letter, I think, has enabled me to see more clearly what it is that is lacking; and this reply will (I hope) have enabled you to see where my difficulties lie.

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## The pacifist outlook - II

THE outstanding fact in current Labour Party socialism is its essential unity on most major issues with capitalism, its traditional enemy.

The road by which this astonishing result has been reached is not difficult to trace. It commenced in the eighties of last century, in the early days of the Fabian Society and before the Labour Party was founded, when Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw, together with their supporters, defeated William Morris and his supporters on the issue of mass versus qualitative production.

From that time British socialism has moved steadily in the direction of a quantitative civilization. Having thrown over qualitative production in the interest of a higher standard of living, it had no option but to endorse and even welcome the speeding-up of production by increased specialization.

When this resulted in mechanizing the worker, and eventually in converting him into the servant and feeder of the machine, compensation was promised in shorter hours and higher wages, and thus in opportunity for creative pursuits. But these advantages were offset by the exhaustion of speeding-up processes, and by the intervention of slumps in which nearly half of the workers in most of the staple industries were put on half rations.

Instead of leading to a re-birth of the artistic instincts, therefore, the effect of industrialism was to repress them still further, and indeed to obliterate spiritual values altogether. Increasingly the mechanized worker sought relief in the spending of money, and thus in superficial rather than creative forms of play. The multiplication of wants and desires which followed created demands for commodities which put an end to the prospect of increased leisure.

It thus transpires that modern socialism as a principle of social salvation has completely broken down. The acceptance of a quantitative civilization has destroyed the soul of

## WHERE STANDS SOCIALISM?

the socialist movement and its vision. It has led almost automatically to the acceptance of high salaries and honours, to the cultivation of bourgeois tastes and standards, and to a sterile House of Commons, while it has encouraged the working classes to become cheap imitators of bourgeois materialism, to cultivate endless appetites and to spend their money on ephemeral pleasures.

This spiritual bankruptcy is now exemplified in the startling fact that the Labour Party faces the post-war world with four primary aims which are almost identical with those of Big Business:

1. To continue the old trading and industrial policy which rests on a high level of manufactured exports, and which has been responsible for all the major international disasters of the last half-century;
2. To tighten up the Empire into a compact economic and military unit;
3. To adopt a comprehensive system of State economic and industrial planning, with guaranteed economic security for all in return for the right of the State to "direct" all labour power into whatever channel it may desire;
4. To deprive Germany of the control of her chemical and heavy industries, and of participation in the world's air-carrying services.

Item 1 is the high road to World War III. From its past propaganda Labour knows that "the several hundred million £s of new exports" which Herbert Morrison has declared Britain must have if she is to maintain her pre-war standard of living, can only be acquired by a more in-

## LETTERS

### Damnable hypocrisy?

Observer's notes on "Sensitive Warriors" (PN, June 2) are symptomatic of the sense of frustration which is today leading many, otherwise sane pacifists, to rather silly outbursts of self-deprecation.

These "sensitive warriors" (what a contradiction!) are, claims Observer, men of "imagination and courage and discernment" at least equal to that of pacifists.

Since pacifists are pacifists precisely because they have (a) the imagination to feel for the victims of war, (b) the courage to denounce the filthy business and put up with the consequences of their denunciation, and (c) the discernment which sees through the spurious appeals to "morality" to the sordid power-politics of actuality, it is more than difficult to see how the same traits could make it "morally impossible" for Observer's warriors to stand out of this war.

Quite obviously, an absolute "loathing of war and love of peace" can, in a consistent man, result in war-resistance.

For those who sincerely, though misguided, believe in the efficacy of war, we can pray "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." But it is the most damnable hypocrisy for pacifists to champion those who, knowing war for the scourge that it is, can become its willing instruments.

DOUGLAS NICHOLSON

Observer comments: Mr. Nicholson's letter is a good example of the self-righteousness which I deplored. It ignores the fact that Nazism has brought a new kind of political evil into the world, and that many men, as imaginative and as honest as pacifists, do not believe that non-resistance or non-violent resistance could prevail against it. To their scepticism, political pacifism has no convincing reply. The only pacifism that is on sure ground is that which is based on a superrational conviction: and this superrational conviction is of a kind that does not and cannot feel any moral superiority over the imaginative and reluctant soldier, but rather a deep sympathy with him. To call this sympathy "damnable hypocrisy" is stupid.

### The P.P.U. message

However diverse the views of PPU members may be, few would deny that it is an organization that is something more than a union of war-resisters. Pierre Edmunds states (PN, May 9) that its fundamental message as a movement (his emphasis) is in the Pledge and the assertion "War will cease when men refuse to fight." This is paradoxical: for a movement cannot be static. The implication of the PPU is the pacifist way of life. Herein lies its fundamental message: a respect for the human person.

We should be concerned, as a movement, with our endeavours as a body for the special object of working for a peaceful society. And that means an earnest attempt to understand the world in which we live. But social awareness does not bind the PPU to "a definite social policy" or identification with a specific party or parties. For individual pacifists to support individual political candidates or political groups is a very different matter from the pacifist movement allying itself with political movements. If we are to have a "message" for

contemporary society, pacifists must develop a sense of social and political awareness: but the individual should be left to find for himself the direction in which that awareness leads. The PPU will still be an organisation which "welcomes pacifists of all shades of opinion," and its common endeavours in the cause of peace will bring a deeper unity of spirit within the movement.

LEOPOLD HUGHMAN

259 Chesterton Road, Cambridge.

### P.R. and majorities

May I point out in reply to Conan Nicholas (PN, May 12) that the distinction between government and chamber does not affect my argument?

Government by inflated majority without representative opposition is full of dangers: above all it weakens the democratic principle and may pave the way for a regime of grimmer stuff. Moreover in this country it leads often to complete inactivity. When, however, such a government decides to take a strong line, we find ourselves at the mercy of men who have not got the support of vast numbers of the electorate. If we are lucky, they are men of high principles and sound ideas, but can we trust to that? A good dictator often seems a blessing, but is that a case for dictatorship?

In vague terms, "Democracy" means the principle of government by all and the majority decision being accepted. Perfect democracy is impossible, but we can do our best by gathering a few hundred from all over the country who are representative of the millions. How they arrange to do the work is a difficult question, but everything depends on the chamber being a fair mirror of the country, and parliamentary democracy stands or falls by it.

As a last word, it is worth saying that to rely on the present electoral system for big majority governments—or anything else for that matter—is hopeless: the system is quite capable of doing the reverse and anything else in between.

MICHAEL BARCLAY

Beltane School, Melksham.

### Our M.P.s

I am amused at the sob story which "my Conservative MP" palmed off on your reviewer. "Take the example of a young man entering Parliament without any private resources," he pleads. "He marries and then his wife has a baby"—at which point principles and pocket clash melodramatically.

Where are such men? Tory MPs, as Haxey has shown, never lack private resources—and if they marry usually reinforce them. Labour MPs normally enter the House 25 years after they could be called young men, and rarely young enough to be interested in founding families.

By all means give MPs, who almost alone have had no war bonus, more money and dependents' allowances. Then they may fulfil these desirable conditions—of lacking private resources, and of beginning their Parliamentary career before their political, not to say physical, virility has deserted them.

JOHN ELIOT

In view of the many claims on our very limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters under 250 words.

By WILFRED WELLOCK

flammable competition than ever, by forcibly preventing the Dominions and other agricultural countries from developing a more balanced economy, which they desire and are determined to do, by yet another sacrifice of British agriculture, and by a new speeding-up of industrial processes, which will enlarge the army of robots.

Item 2 is tinted with the usual lip-service to India's freedom, and to more education and better conditions for backward peoples, while very recent history proves that national necessity can quickly dull the sensitivity of Labour's conscience on such issues.

Item 3 leads to the final stage of the slave State. The application of Fordism to a wider range of industries will sweep away hundreds of vocations, and since there is no functional difference between tightening nuts on a clock and on a motor-car, the case against industrial conscription on vocational grounds is destroyed. The effect will be to lay still more stress on security and money-values and to minimize the importance of liberty.

Item 4 indicates that Labour has forgotten all its international doctrines and ideals, its condemnation of the Versailles Treaty and of monopolism, and is now ready to plunge the German people into a deeper servitude than before, and humanity into the miseries and barbarism of a world revolution from whose spiritual and physical wreckage it may never recover.

Has pacifism an answer to that challenge? Wilfred Wellock's final article in this series will be published in a fortnight's time.

### Words of Peace—79

## A summons to heaven or to hell?

Yet the bells have an answer. The bells of Christ's churches are commanded by a belligerent Prime Minister to peal for victory: no bell tolls for the lives of young men. The bells ring out the triumph of militarism: they sound no chord of mercy and loving kindness. The clangour of the bells is the clangour of resurrected Empire; not of a resurrected Christ. If one army or another is annihilated in the sands of Libya or on the mud-flats of Tunis, if one influence or another dominates Europe for a moment of history, human nature is not thereby changed. Oppression remains oppression. Are they Church or Churchill bells?

Lionel Fielden in "Beggar My Neighbour."

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## "Traveller's Tale"

An important part of the work of Pacifist Service Units' Headquarters is that of keeping pacifists up and down the country informed of the work that is being done by the Units. This job falls mainly to the Liaison Officer and in this capacity for the past 9 months I have been travelling about the country speaking to pacifist (and other) groups. While part of my job is to raise cash to keep the work going, this is by no means its only aspect.

Now that PSU has been going long enough to have a "past" to look back on, we are better able to see the relationship of our development to the pacifist movement as a whole and I think it can be said that we are able to do more than help "conchies" to do "good work"—that we can serve both society and pacifism.

In visiting groups and hearing their comments and questions I have been struck, firstly by their enthusiastic response to work whose scope is all too limited, and secondly by their readiness to appreciate that a pacifist service body is something more than a "charity" and that as a workshop it can help pacifists to find out by trial and error the practical difficulties of applied pacifism.

Much serious thought needs to be given to these difficulties and problems, but pressure of work and limitations of personnel make it difficult to give them the calm and unhurried attention they require: I am convinced that our experience contains much material which would amply repay study by groups.

The February Peace News pamphlet "Pacifism on the Doorstep" and the PSU pamphlet "Pattern in Relief" indicate the scope of the material, while the report on Social Case-work v. Problem Families, which is being prepared as quickly as the shortage of personnel allows, will suggest some of the more detailed problems that arise.

The time is now approaching when groups will be considering their winter programmes and I should be very glad to know of any groups which may be interested to hear a speaker on the work being done and/or to consider study of the problems of applied pacifism.

To conclude: PSU can use all the personnel it can get. To those who are considering taking up social service as a post-war job we can offer wide and valuable experience, and in certain directions there is some reason to hope that the work may lead more directly to the start of a career in social service.

MIKE LEE

## NATIONAL COUNCIL

Ronald H. Smith has resigned from National Council, to which he was elected last April. Since election, he has been appointed to the PPU Head Office staff, and he considers that members of staff should not also be members of Council.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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## M.P.s' QUESTIONS ON CONTROL OF FOOD FOR GREECE

ELEVEN million bushels of Canadian wheat have so far been shipped through the blockade to Greece, and none of it has fallen into the hands of the Nazis, according to a recent report to the Canadian Dominion Government.

Why then is the Ministry of Economic Warfare not satisfied with this splendid achievement? On the answer to that question hangs the fate of the hungry children in other occupied countries.

Mr. Dingle Foot, the Ministry's young and brilliant Parliamentary Secretary, has just returned from Washington where he has been discussing blockade problems with the State Department. No doubt he has been pressed hard on the food-relief issue. The Food-Relief Campaign is informed that not only Congress but President Roosevelt himself is definitely in favour of extending this life-saving work.

When Mr. Foot reappeared in the House of Commons (on Jun. 20) he immediately had to answer shrewd questions from a senior member of his own party, Mr. Graham White, Liberal MP for Birkenhead.

Had the Ministry received any report from the Swedish-Swiss Commission in Greece? Had the conditions under which the import of food-relief supplies is allowed been observed? This was Mr. Foot's reply:

"We have received a large number of communications from the Commission regarding various aspects of their work but full reports on the operation of the scheme as a whole have not, however, been nearly as frequent as we could wish. As the House will appreciate, the most important condition and the one most difficult to enforce is that designed to protect Greek native produce. I am not reflecting in any way on the competence and devotion with which the Commission have carried out their task. I must, however, make it clear that we are by no means satisfied that this condition has been fully observed by the occupying authorities and troops. Moreover, as I informed the House in the Debate on Nov. 10, there were a number of occasions in the late summer of 1943 when the occupying authorities requisitioned or destroyed Greek crops allegedly as a reprisal for guerrilla activities. This was certainly a breach of the spirit, if not the letter of the scheme."

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Moore intervened to ask if he could be given an assurance "that the Germans are not removing the domestic produce of Greece, simply to make way for what the Allies and others are trying to give them," to which Mr. Foot answered, "I wish I could give a categorical assurance on that point, but I cannot."

## IRRELEVANT OBJECTION

These are thoroughly unsatisfactory answers. The incident of the destruction of crops in areas held by Greek guerrilla forces is tragic but irrelevant. Even Mr. Foot admits that it is not a breach "of the letter" of the agreements.

Apart from that he cannot pretend that the Swedish-Swiss Commission has reported infractions of the control agreements; he does

## INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION

There are many people in this country who, while they may have been willing to endure the restraints of industrial conscription during the war, would be most unwilling to suffer them gladly or quietly in peace-time. I am trying to discover the strength of feeling on this matter, and it would be most useful if those of your readers who object strongly to the idea of post-war industrial conscription would be good enough to write to me, stating both their objection to compulsion and their ideas for a satisfactory industrial organization after the war.

SYDNEY GEORGE CONBEER  
Oakwood, Afton Rd., Freshwater, I.O.W.

## LITERATURE, etc.

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WANTED TO complete series, copies C.B.C.O. Bulletin published previous to Sept. 1942. What offers please? Box 494.

## MEETINGS, etc.

DAVID CUSHMAN Coyle will speak at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, on Jul. 4, at 1.20 p.m. Subject: "Anglo-American co-operation."

MIDLAND PACIFIST Fellowship, Jul. 2, Selly Oak F.M.H., 8 p.m. "Talk won't build a new world," Harry Webb.

WOBURN DISTRICT, Bletchley, Leighton Buzzard, Bedford. Preliminary notice: Patrick Figgis visits Woburn, Sun., Jul. 23. Afternoon meeting; evening service. Details later.

BOURNEMOUTH POST-WAR Reconstruction Group, 5 Wellington Rd., Friday, Jul. 7, 7.30 p.m. "Shaping the Future." Vera Brittain.

NORTH LONDON Muswell Hill, Highgate Group. Henry Hilditch: "Negotiated Peace." Friends' Meeting House, Church Crescent, Muswell Hill, N.10. 7.45 p.m., Jul. 12.

## PERSONAL

WOULD ANY farmer (preferably Berks., Surrey, Hants.) consider providing work and home for semi-problem boy (14 in August)? Box 482.

P.P.U. BIRMINGHAM Council. Note that cheques and subscriptions should be made payable to the new Treasurer, John Ounsted, 89 Middleton Hall Rd., Birmingham, 30.

## SITUATIONS VACANT

IT is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants who are in any doubt are recommended to consult the Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

LLANTHONY BROTHERS, inter-denominational religious community, require two men, one for land work, other to help in house, plain cooking and assist occasionally in youth hostel. Interest in church music advantage not essential. No cranks, no crooks wanted. Simple rule. Fr. David, Llanthony Brothers, Capel y Ffin, Abergavenny, Mon.

MARRIED COUPLE wanted: household duties; gardener, handyman; furnished cottage, good wages, splendid situation. Box 486.

ODAM HILL School and Children's Farm, S. Molton, Devon, needs married handyman (exempt position) end July. Wife help in school. One or two children welcomed.

SITE FOR caravan and plot about 160 ft. by 40 ft. with small wage for anyone willing to help tend remainder of garden in lovely countryside. Edwards, "West View," Shere Road, Horsley, Surrey.

URGENT: outside representative for typewriter business. Salary and commission. Owner, C.O., anticipating prison. Cook, The Mount, Noah Hill, Romford, Essex.

YOUNG MAN required for general work on market gardening. Previous experience not essential. Small wage with full board and lodging. Good home, pleasant surroundings. Near Taunton, Somerset. Employer a C.O. Write immediately, Box 488.

SECRETARIAL AND general assistance required in Circulation Dept., Peace News. Shorthand-typing essential. Apply Office Manager.

PROG. SCHOOL, Bucks., has vacancies Sept. asst. matron, exper. pref. and domestic help light housework, mending, etc. Box 495.

FLORIST MANAGER required West London company four shops. Experienced market-buying and supervising staff. Good post-war prospects. Apply by letter. Morland, Westbury, Wilts.

WANTED: DOMESTIC help. Two friends welcomed, but no accommodation for children. Hurtwood School, Peaslake, Guildford. Tel. Abinger 119.

CONSCIENTIOUS FEMALE worker for modern dairy farm required, varied duties, Quaker C.O. farmer, Exeter district, experience helpful but not essential. Live in, or small unfurnished cottage possibly available. Box 496.

INTERESTING LIFE for women willing to assist in catering in farm-houses for workers at progressive farming community. Temporary or permanent. Work approved by the Ministry of Labour. Full particulars from The Secretary, C.F.S. Ltd., Holton Beckering, Wragby, Lincs.

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REGISTERED ARCHITECT. Experienced houses, shops, and flat design. War damage. R. Sparrow, M.Inst.R.A., 134 Regent's Park Rd., N.1.

## The victory mind and peace

## To the Editor

I WAS interested in the remarks on the Battle of France in Peace News, following the expression a week before of the hope that it might be brief.

I took the earlier reference to be in the nature of a cry of anguish at the extension and intensification of war's horrors which the Second Front involves, and the longing that it all might end soon. In that sense I agreed with your "human" plea, as you describe it.

When, however in the following issue you analyze alternatives on the intellectual plane, and come to the conclusion that we must accept as best and hope for a quick Allied victory, I cannot see my way to do so. As a "would-be Christian" (the qualification is one which George Lansbury used to apply to himself), I shall want to bring such longing to the test of prayer. I find that I cannot pray for an American-British victory, not even for a quick one.

I have just been signing some letters typed before I read the Jun. 23 Peace News, and I find the following sentence in one of them, to a German refugee friend: "the only thing we can do at present is to pray that a real peace may come, and come quickly." It was chancing to see those words that caused me to write to you. I do not think they mean the same thing as hoping and praying for a quick Anglo-American victory.

The reason for this appears in part in another article on the same page of Peace News, where I read, "as in 1919, so again today, the war mind proves that it is inherently incapable of making peace." If I paraphrase this slightly and say, "the victory mind is inherently incapable of making real peace," I think it helps to explain my difficulty, and why I can pray for peace, but not for victory. If one believes that a change of heart in all concerned is the real need, can one pray for anything less?

CORDER CATCHPOOL  
49 Parliament Hill,  
London, N.W.3.

See leading article, page 2.

## NEW PAROLE PLAN FOR C.O.s

As the result of a 35-minute interview with President Roosevelt by three representatives of the National Committee for C.O.s of the American Civil Liberties Union, a new parole plan for imprisoned objectors has been announced by the US Bureau of Prisons and the Selective Service authorities.

The interview took place in March, and the President was said to be very attentive and interested.

## MUST WE RUIN ALL FRANCE?

•OBSERVER' CONTINUED

bership with them is to be broken by compulsion from Moscow, it will disgrace the cause of the United Nations for ever.

The conspiracy of silence over the fate of the Baltic Republics gives little hope that any effective protest will be made. We shall be told again that the terms are "generous."

### Escapism of war

I HAVE been studying the report of a discussion among a private group of people who, though they are convinced supporters of the war, are yet deeply concerned for the future. What most impressed me was their pessimism. They confess that the hopes they had of a renaissance of high purpose of the nation have disappeared completely. I could not but feel sorry for them.

Compared to theirs, my own position was almost enviable. From 1926 onwards I had believed that nothing short of a new birth of moral responsibility in Britain could save Europe from the disaster of total war. And when I finally decided that new birth was not coming—that the country as a whole was indifferent to the outrage of mass-unemployment at home and its ravages abroad—it was really a question of waiting for the catastrophe, material and moral, of a "civilization." Confidence in a national moral renaissance by and through modern war has always seemed to me directly comparable with the euphoria of pthisis.

Men and nations do not think more courageously because of war. On the contrary, they think more timidly. War is an escape from fear, not an overcoming of it, and it ends in a frenzied passion for "security."

### Devastation of France

HOW terribly urgent it is, in the plain interests of this country, that the piecemeal devastation of France should be averted is made clear enough in a message to Reynolds News (Jun. 25).

"It is time the public faced up to the problems created by the necessary bombing and shelling of towns and villages lying in the path of the Allied invasion armies . . .

"A point which should not be baulked at is the effect that this will have on the minds of the French people—an effect which I believe will take at least one generation of liberation to wipe out . . .

"No one doubts the military expediency of these measures, but it is essential to realize their consequences. Some towns and villages—particularly in the American sector—have suffered worse than anything in England caused by blitzing.

"It is essential that the majority of French men and women be shown that this is their contribution not only to the Allied victory but to the rebirth of a civilized and independent France."

The unintentional irony of the last sentence is appalling. Was France not civilized? Did she not, even under German occupation, remain civilized? Can we expect that France will be grateful to us for the devastation caused by a "liberation" which she did not desire? Take a map of France. Compare the size of the "liberated" territory with that which remains. Is it not a crime against humanity, and the blasting of any hope of future friendship with France, to neglect any effort that might spare an unwilling France from systematic devastation?

### Tailpiece

I OUGHT, I suppose, to say something about the Debate on the White Paper on Full Employment. But, honestly, discussing the domestic future of this country at this moment seems a kind of moral levity.

My mind is full of the tragedy of France. I don't, in my heart of hearts, care what happens to England: we would be bound to pull through somehow if we had enough imagination to feel and be determined to shorten the tragedy of France.

If we haven't got enough imagination—then again I don't care what happens to this country. It will get what it has deserved.

### C.B.C.O. BULLETIN

An article by Lewis MacLachlan on "The CO and the Second Front" is one of the features of the June issue of the Bulletin of the Central Board for COs, just published (price 3d., by post 4d.).

# PACIFISTS and the SECOND FRONT

WHAT can pacifists rightly say about the opening of the Second Front? The nation has decided on the ordeal—and in this case there is no doubt that it is a national decision.

Masterly planning and careful attention to every detail have resulted in the difficult and dangerous operation of a landing on open beaches being carried out with unexpected ease and with an accompanying loss of life very much less than had been feared and expected. The chances of an Allied victory have been notably improved and the whole nation is following the campaign in Normandy with mixed feelings of apprehension at the sacrifices that will still be involved and hope for the final outcome.

What can we say in this situation that is loyal to our own position and yet respects the sincerity of others? The columns of Peace News testify to a certain difference of opinion in this matter. May I, without making any claim to be a representative pacifist, set down, for consideration, my own view.

\* \* \*

First I want to praise the courage, the sacrifice and the devotion of those actually taking part in it. Many of us have close relatives or intimate friends among them. We must retain the capacity to enter imaginatively into their experiences, to understand how they feel and to respect their fine qualities.

\* \* \*

Second, I want to say that I share their hatred of the evil things against which they are fighting. I have no wish to deny that there is much evil in our own national life but I cannot equate this with the excesses of the Nazi régime. I do consider that occupied Europe is in the grip of an exploiting tyranny and I share the eager wish to set it free.

\* \* \*

Third, I want to explain why I am not actively supporting the war effort—why indeed I have on occasion to go out of my way to make it clear that I am withholding my support.

I am driven to this on two grounds. My intuitive judgment, based on the revelation of God in Christ so far as I understand it, is that participation in war is wrong. I agree that many Christians whom I respect and whose sincerity is not in question make a contrary judgment. I differ from them with regret and I have tried to listen to all they have to say, but having done so my judgment remains unaltered and I must be loyal to it.

On the plane of rational judgment I come to the same conclusion. I do not believe that, in fact, the evils which we abhor in the Nazi régime can be overcome by fighting the Nazis, much less by fighting all Germans,

### NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL DECLARATION

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

Germans and non-Germans undertake together in the various countries of Europe, but it is urgently desirable that to those tasks there should be brought the largest possible contribution from civilian workers from all countries anxious to give disinterested service in the reconciliation of peoples and the meeting of their common needs.

By these personal contacts in a common service, by the restoration at the earliest moment of the fullest freedom of discussion within Germany itself and by large-scale inter-visitation between Germany and other countries, the "re-education" of Germany and especially of German youth will best be assured. The German educational system will have its part to play in an international education movement and its contribution to make to the fostering of the international mind and the acceptance of the privileges and obligations of world citizenship.

But the re-education of Germans in Germany is essentially a problem for the Germans themselves. A nation cannot be educated into democracy by foreign supervisors or by police forces stationed on its soil. If a true democracy is to be realized in Germany, the Germans must achieve it for themselves and the outside world must help to provide the atmosphere and the conditions in which that achievement can succeed and endure.

nor do I believe that a war of liberation is the only way of rescuing "enslaved peoples". But I make this reasoned judgment partly because I have already made the other. By itself I make it with less certainty.

I cannot assume that when others differ from my judgment the difference is necessarily due to government propaganda, or fear, or economic pressure, or imperfect ethical standards, or nationalistic sentiment, or even to a combination of all these. I do not believe that the pacifist cause, cogently presented to the unprejudiced mind, will necessarily carry conviction.

**A personal point of view contributed by Dr. ALEX WOOD chairman of the P.P.U.**

be right but my respect for those whose deliberate judgment is different remains unimpaired.

\* \* \*

Fourth, I want to make it clear that while I have renounced the method of war I have not renounced the struggle against evil. To that struggle I am committed equally with those who believe in the war method.

But the war method and the pacifist method of struggle cannot be pursued simultaneously, with the result that during war the pacifist is often shielded, much against his will, from some of its dangers and even its inconveniences and his opportunities for showing the courage, sacrifice and devotion of the soldier are very restricted.

Yet among the first paratroops to land in Normandy were pacifist members of the RAMC; conscientious objectors in the Non-Combatant Corps have volunteered for service abroad and members of Pacifist Service Units have won public respect and admiration by their heroism. The pacifists who have offered themselves for medical research experiments and last but not least the very large number of conscientious objectors who have imperilled the livelihoods of their families, and faced repeated and prolonged terms of imprisonment and detention, have shown courage of a different but certainly not an inferior order.

\* \* \*

Lastly I suppose we all agree that the fact that the vast majority of the nation has made its judgment, as we think wrongly, is no reason why we should modify our convictions. It is only when we begin to consider what in the actual circumstances we ought to do that differences arise.

We all believe that free negotiation is the surest foundation for lasting peace and there are those who think that the preaching of this doctrine is the necessary and sufficient task of the pacifist movement. For some this may be so but for others this long-term policy is too indirect in its effects on immediate political decisions.

To be effective in the present situation we must, I believe, seek out points of contact with those whose minds on the main issue are made up against us. This involves no disloyalty on our part to pacifist principles—it merely involves a different judgment as to what is the practically effective line. In these circumstances what points of contact are available?

Many supporters of the Second Front are not happy about the policy

### PRISONERS COMMENDED GERMAN GUARDS

At a court of inquiry following a fire at a prisoner-of-war camp, Stalag XVIIIA, a British marine was called to represent his companions.

"As a request had been made by the men for me to pay respect where it was due," he has written home, "I recommended two of the guards for bravery in the fire."

The letter is quoted in The Prisoner of War (May issue).

\*The award of a German decoration to a British prisoner of war for saving a child's life during an RAF raid on Germany was reported in PN three weeks ago.

of "unconditional surrender" and wish some statement of the kind of peace which it is proposed to make to be stated by the United Nations. Many are not happy about the exclusion of "enemy nations" from the rights proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter. Many are concerned about the starvation in occupied countries and disquieted by the policy of obliteration bombing. Many do not accept the facile identification of the whole German people with the evil things that have been done in their name and are genuinely apprehensive of a peace of revenge which will be no peace.

Here are directions along which we may move to keep imagination and compassion alive and secure a better peace. So what I really want to say to those who support the Second Front or are actually in it is: "If victory comes, remember its tremendous responsibilities and strive that it may not be dishonoured by an unjust and vindictive peace."

### THEY HELP EPILEPTICS

There are now ten CO attendants and some pacifist nurses working at the Lingfield Epileptic Colony, Surrey, which has a population of 460 patients and a staff of over 50. The aim of the colony is to educate the patients, in an environment in which they have no oppressive feeling of abnormality, into responsible people with a balanced attitude to life.

The Colony is short of staff, both male and female, which it is felt would not be the case if COs realized the great possibilities of the work, and the scope it gives for initiative and imagination in an excellent but sadly neglected cause.

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